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Names.—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551 There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

Male	*Female*
1. K'u'nu.	1. Hi'nu.
2. He'nu.	2. Wi'ha.
3. Ha'ga.	3. Aksi'-a (generally pronounced Aksi).
4. Na'ɣai.	4. Hi'nuŋk'.
5. Naŋxixô'nu.	5. A'kaigaxô'nu.
6. Naŋxixonu'niñk'a.	6. A'kaigaxônu'niŋk'a.

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long-continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name. [171]

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpretation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'nįk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ɢnuŋk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'nįk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuŋk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuŋk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for female child of younger brother. 551 562 193 [60]

[1] He'nu is also the name for a man's elder sister.

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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[1]

MALE TERMS OF ADDRESS

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ê, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'niŋk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'ârok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[1] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

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614 Hekorohiga.....He who makes a noise by dragging something.
551 Hopiga.....Good voice.
Horutcwiga.....He who has eaten fish
Hotra'ti'wiga.....Audible voice.
Hotru'tru'wiga.....Fishes in several places.
Hunk' nank'awairega.....Chief whom they are afraid of
Idjnaikwahiga.....He who makes them shriek with fright.
Jibinik'a.....Short person (common to all clans).
K'aylhitcank'a.....Changing crow.
K'aviji̧k'aga.....Yellowish crow.
K'avinu'p'aga.....Two crows.
Ki'nahuggawiga.....Fighting chief.
Ma'cdja'izga'wiga.....Makes an effort in moving.
Ma'cu'p'i'wiga.....Beautiful quill feather.
Ma'cu'napga.....Black quill feathers.
Ma'cu'ngawiga.....White quill feather.
Ma'cu'tcowiga.....Green quill feather.
Ma'hinu'p'aga.....Two knives.
Manihciadjaga.....Strong walker.
Ma'napanik'a.....Walking storm.
Mank'ikuntega.....He who shakes the earth by striking.
Na'ma'tce K'urega.....He who has taken his war-club.
Ma'ma'tce nank'ik'awairega.....He of whose war-club they are afraid.
Ma'n'cotega.....He who raises a dust on the earth.
Ma'nankuntega.....He who makes the earth shake by walking.
Manzuk'iga.....He who drys the ground.
Ma'nuziwiga.....Yellow arrow point.
Ma'dadjohimaniga.....He who walks on the wind.
Manicguna'ciga.....Breaks a bow with his feet.
Manzicutega.....Red cloud.
Manzik'ok'iwaheretega.....Overlapping clouds.
Manzik'ucima'ji̧k'a.....He who stands beyond the sky.
Manzik'ucna'ji̧k'a.....Sky reached standing.
Manzip'aowiga.....Cloud-point.
Manzipi'wiga.....Beautiful cloud.
Manzirukanaga'.....Master of the clouds.
Manzisepga.....Black cloud.
Manzitcopga.....Four clouds.
Manziwiwak'andjank'a.....Sacred cloud.
Maindjaticnank'a.....He who sits having come hither to the earth.
Ma'odjanguwiga.....Coming back near the ground.
Nanzikewahiga.....He who scares some one.
Na'inwagicega.....He who breaks a treetop by hitting it.
Na'inwarutega.....He who eats a treetop.
Na'najojopk'aga.....Swallow.
Na'odji'wiga.....He who strikes a tree.
Nanzokiga.....Withered tree (blasted by lightning).
Na'wa'hega.....He who comes singing.
Nank'awairega.....He whom they fear to see.
Nijega.....Rain man.
Nijumanlwiga.....Walking rain.
Nijuxotega.....Gray rain.
Nipaha'pkiga.....He who makes the water shine.
Nisikutcgawiga.....Drizzling woman.

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Notra"pga.....Lightning in the tree.
Nuwank k'iriga.....He who comes back running.
P"etra"ruhiga.....Crane rib.
P"etrawinga.....Crane woman.
P"etega.....Fire person.
Xora cutrewinga.....Red bald eagle.
Xora hunga.....Bald eagle chief.
Xorap'aga.....Bald eagle head.
Rac'ta"ti"winga.....Audible name.
Rak'uhuhiga.....South wind.
Rutcgeniak'a.....Little pigeon.
Sakowarutega.....He who eats raw flesh.
Sa'ljamaniaga.....Grizzled walking person.
Si-ok'uruspinga.....Leaves good footprints.
Sinewwatega.....Tail.
Tratega.....Wind person.
Tcunirajiwka.....He who is the first one named.
Tra"phak'irutrewinga.....Lightning crossing itself.
Tra"pjigewinga.....Lightens again.
Dja"peracna"tra"ti"wigga.....Lightning visible only once.
Dja"phak'iwarega.....Forked lightning.
Dja"phirega.....He who is? lightning.
Dja"phaniwiga.....He who makes? or accompanies? lightning.
Dja"phik'irgaga.....He who makes? moving lightning.
Dja"pguhiga.....Lightning that returns.
Dja"lerewinga.....Lightning that goes.
Dja"pdjega.....Standing lightning.
Dja"peljikewinga.....Lightning that flashes suddenly.
Dja"pkra"krega.....Zigzag lightning or lightning circling and revolving.
Tra"ti"minagk'a.....Sitting in sight.
Trexcha"phiga.....Lightens the highland marsh.
Tri-cha"phiga.....He who lightens up the lodge.
Triwaljega.....He who makes one abandon lodge and flee.
T"a animagk'a.....Kept aflying?
T"a'guhiwiga.....He who returns flying.
Wahok'ega.....The marksman.
Wak'andja haljagip'iwiga.....Thunderbird that likes to be seen.
Wak'andja cicga.....Bad Thunderbird.
Wak'andja yôngiwiga.....Thunder queen.
Wak'andjagiponiga.....Young Thunderbird waiting.
Wak'andjaga.....Thunderbird.
Wak'andja giw'ixga.....Thunderbird whirling.
Wak'andjagew'iga.....Thunderbird returning.
Wak'andjan'iggen'igk'a.....Very small Thunderbird.
Wak'andjap'iga.....Good Thunderbird.
Wak'andjaxega.....Yellowish Thunderbird.
Wak'andjaxiguhiga.....Thunderbird returning smoke.
Wak'andjaxeniga.....Thunderbird small.
Wak'andjaxega.....Black Thunderbird.
Wak'andjatroniw'iga.....First Thunderbird.
Wak'andja troga.....Green Thunderbird.
Wakte'emaniw'iga.....He who walks killing.
Wani-ak'axiga.....Crow hankering for flesh.
Wan'ik'tra"w'iga.....Changing bird.

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614 Wap'ahoxoq'inaxga.....The great dreadful one that walks.
● 531 Warutexga.....He who makes (the grass) rusty-yellow by eating.
Waxahixaxga.....Walking hail.
Waxirukoxaxga.....Judge of the contest.
Waxika.....Pine.
Waxgexatexga.....Man eater.
Wip'axaqkexe'igga.....Rainbow.
Wixgexgew'igga.....Star woman.
W'igyaxaxga.....He who pens up ducks.
Woxaq'irohuxga.....Warrior chief.
Wodjí'gahiga.....He who returns and strikes.
Wodí'e'igga.....She who strikes.[a]
Koxmaxiga.....Walking and making the sound of bear.
Ahu-awiga.....Raise her wing.
Ahutco.....Blue wing.
Na'exedjawiga.....Real tree woman.
Maxzi-epga.....Black cloud.
Maxzixgaxedga.....Big white cloud.
Ahu-ljipga.....Short winged.
K'exatcexpga.....Black sky (means properly the firmament).
Kexedjó'expga.....Black hawk.
Maxzixuxga.....He who makes the clouds have rays behind them.
P'etcda-ehiga.....Fire starter.
P'etcheaxga.....Has fireplace.
Hok'awaa.....Darkness.
Nágik'iexaxaiga.....Hails as he walked.
Tcexaxiaxg'a.....Sits blue.
Huxgit'exga.....Speaks as a chief.
Noxuxga.....Scratches tree.
Na'exawahixga.....He who brings up a stick in his mouth.
Ma'hedja'epga.....He who flashes on the earth.
Haxa'djadjaixwiga.....Seen by all.
Waxgedjaxga.....Belongs to the upper regions.
Maxzixoxuxtixga.....Looks at the clouds.
Ma'cuxgixaxga.....Flapping and shaking his feathers.
Ahugixiaiwiga.....Shining wings.
Hoyexiga.....Young swan.
Maxk'uhodja'epga.....Flashes under the earth.
Waxodjaxaga.....Comes making a noise.
Waxgedjahuga.....He who comes from above.
Na'i'nek'iga.....Lone tree.
Waxgwaxopaiga.....Holy man.
Ximaniga.....Walking in mist.
Xiguga.....Comes in mist.
Xawi'axa'axgiga.....Bends the brush.
Tcexgexuga.....Oak tree.
Na'naxcexga.....Bends the tree down.
Na'djidjega.....Comes on the tree.
Ma'djidjega.....Comes on the ground.
K'exihega.....He who thunders.
Tcixi'djhaxahiga.....Makes tcixi' in coming.
Wak'andjexaxiga.....Thunder walker.
Ma'cdja'axaxiga.....Mightily walking.

[a] This ends Dorsey's list of 32d clan names. Those following were collected by the author.

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Mąągiksuntcga.....Shakes the earth.
Teonimaniga.....Walks first.
Dja"pdjirshiga.....Streak of lightning.
Mąąxiwimaniga.....He who walks in the cloud.
Ahu-laretcga.....Long wings.

The Bear Clan

INTRODUCTION

Seven versions of the Bear clan origin myth were obtained, so that for this clan, at least, a fairly intensive study of the variations and their significance can be made. Perhaps the most interesting fact to point out is the apparent existence of two recognized versions, one called the minor or false and the other the true. The complete version was only told when the interrogator had paid enough.[1] The minor version is not at all concerned with the origin of the Bear clan but appears to be largely an account of the origin of the reciprocal relations of the Bear and Wolf clans. The second is the real origin myth. The version obtained does not, however, seem complete.

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[123]

The typical origin myths (excluding the fifth version) are of two types, those that speak of Earthmaker creating the ancestors of the clan and those that do not mention his name. Undoubtedly those versions that do not mention Earthmaker's name are the older. Those that speak of Earthmaker show clearly the influence of the general origin myth and of shamanistic systematization. This is particularly apparent in the sixth version, which was told in connection with the bear feast.

The subject matter of the myths relates to the manner in which the bears came to the great gathering at Green Bay, the older versions having them originate from the water and the later versions having them created by Earthmaker and sent to the earth. In the former they are distinctly heroic animals and in the latter vague spirit animals. The nature of the relation of these animals to the present clansmen is not clearly stated in the myths, and there is not the slightest mention of the present current belief on the subject. The myths seem almost entirely concerned with the question of the origin of the disciplinary functions of the clan and of its relationship to the Wolf and a few of the other clans.

It is difficult to explain the remarkable differences in the various versions. Comparing them with versions of the clan origin myths of the other clans, it seems likely that the short accounts represent the more archaic versions and the longer accounts those versions that

[1] My informant said, "If a person asked me about the origin of His (i. e., of my clan) and did not give me enough gifts or make enough offerings, I would tell him the minor version. Not until he gave me all that was necessary would I tell him the true account."

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy. 614 625

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him. [222 262] [685]

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him. [623 692 682]

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following: 614 625 784

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped. 614 625 [684]

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him. [622 682]

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan. 614

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in [551] the council lodge.

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CLAN NAMES

HUNDI HIK'IE'ARAIŋGRA (BEAR CLAN)[38]

CH4
● 551

Hagadja minaŋk'a.....Sitting opposite.
Awamaga.....He who is shot in.
Cagep'ahiga.....The one with black claws.
Ci^mank'a.....Coarse-grained fat.
Hagu^i^naga.....He who is coveted.
Hahi-aiciwiga.....Dwelling on a hillside.
Hak'iridjowiga.....Comes back.
Hak'iruicowiga.....Crosses each other.
Hashoniwiga.....Hunts for berries.
Ha^hecoraicowiga.....Travels by night.
Ha^hewiga.....Night.
Ha^heniŋk'a.....Small day.
Ha^pmaniga.....He who walks by day.
Himaniwaruicga.....He who eats as he walks.
Hiniguhega.....His little one who is returning.
Hiniuŋk'hadjariga.....He who saw a woman.
Hiniuŋk' inak'iminaŋk'a...Woman sitting alone.
Hiniuŋk' djopga.....Four women.
Hodihuga.....He who comes climbing a tree.
Hundjhuraga.....Black bear who is coming.
Hundjga.....The bear.
Hundjxedega.....The big bear.
Hundjxunuga.....Small bear.
Hungatcak'iriga.....He who has come back to see the children.
Huŋgit'ega.....Prophet.
Huŋkorohiga.....He who is the chief's flesh.
Huŋk'uniga.....He who is made chief.
Inak'ina^jiga.....He who stands alone.
Inak'iminaŋk'a.....He who sits alone.
Giawominaŋk'a.....He who sits quiet.
Maŋk'axga.....Dirt.
Maniwaruicga.....He who eats as he walks.
Ma^ok'ipiwiga.....She for whom the land is large enough.
Ma^zitciga.....Iron lodge.
Ma^zana^piga.....Iron necklace.
Ma^zaxa^wiga.....Whitish metal.
Ma^zawiga.....Metal woman.
Ma^cgodaniga.....Three notches.
Ma^na^ha^pewiga.....She who throws out the dirt with her paws.
Mana^pega.....Soldier.
Ma^p'ozirohiga.....Earth thrown up yellow.
Ma^rotca^wiga.....Straight earth woman.
Ma^sorokega.....Land cut in strips.
Ma^tco-icdjajiripga.....Grizzly bear with striped eyes.
Ma^tcoga.....Grizzly bear.
Ma^wakaruicga.....Shakes the ground by his weight.
Moiciwiga.....She who dwells in the ground.
Na^cgadjewiga.....She who plays on a tree.
Na^noic'^napwiga.....Black root.

[38] The following names are from the Dorsey manuscript.

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Na^unak'ivinga.....Bends a tree by pulling.
Na^un^nohiga.....He who makes a tree whitish by scratching off the bark.
Na^ugepinga.....Good heart.
Na^tcgatcxiwinga.....She whose heart is difficult.
Na^trujiwinga.....Yellowish red hair.
Nontcuxiga.....Breaks up a tree into small pieces.
Norutega.....Scrapes a tree.
Hak'awaxuniwinga.....Who walks in darkness.
Hak'awaxuninak'a.....He who sits in darkness.
Reciwak'antcak'a.....Holy tongue.
Reha^minak'a.....Many sitting.
Ni-oga.....Foot good to the taste.
Tciwojega.....Fills the lodge.
Tcuga.....Ladle.
Tcugiga.....Spoon.
Wajega.....Yellowish-red bear.
Wak'izana^p'inga.....He who has a white spot under his throat.
Wamaniga.....Walks on the snow.
Wamanuk'ega.....He who steals habitually.
Wamaxegega.....With a white breast.
Wan^himaniga.....He who walks on melting snow.
Waxuxuxak'aga.....Vermilion.
Wank'ana^newinga.....Puts up a mole.
Wank'hak'inak'a.....Half a man.
Waxdjahiriga.....Laughing at his antics.
Wahinkxahiriga.....He at whom they laugh.[1]
Mai^nukonega.....In charge of land.
Tcuxgka hunk'a.....First chief.
Septega.....Real black.
Na^ljudjewinga.....Red hair.
Mana^p'a hunk'a.....Soldier chief.
Hak'iwaigu^wiga.....She who retraces her steps.
Moradjawinga.....Earth wanderer.
Ha^nunk'a hinkunk'a.....Sits on the earth alone.
Monaga.....Hunts about the earth.
Ana^tcu^xedga.....Big armful.
Watcuginiwinga.....Goes ahead of them (common to all clans).
Ha^nan'winga.....Walks on the earth.
Mangawinga.....Earth coming woman.
Hotcangit'ega.....Speaks Winnebago.
Ha^p'ananiga.....Walks with the strength of day.
Ha^haninanga.....Sits in the day.
Tcuxaninak'a.....Sits blue.
Hunkjaxega.....Small bear.
Ha^hiruk'anga.....In charge of day.
Haruta^wiga.....Goes around the earth.
Hatciwiga.....Lives in the earth.
Tci-ana^tciga.....Lives in the earth permanently.
Ni-ana^jaga.....Stands on the water.

[1] The following names were obtained by the author.

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their clan names is *Wave*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home.

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time."

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 539 776 they sang songs, but I do not know them. I was not taught them. Finally children were born to both of them, and they gave them names. They called one of them *Wave* on account of the wave coming before them on their starting out. Because the four original [551] wolves in the middle of the ocean had four different colors, therefore they have names *White Wolf, Green Hair, Gray Wolf,* and *Black Wolf.* When the clan began to get larger they taught their children these names.

When a large number of different clansmen are traveling and they have to cross some large stream and the wind is high, they call upon some Wolf clansman to calm the wind. This clan holds the water [823] very sacred. They do not even die in the water.

It was at this first meeting that they made friends with the Bear clan. Therefore these two clans love one another.

THIRD VERSION—TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN (FRAGMENTARY)

The original wolf brothers appeared from the bottom of the ocean. When they got to the top of the water they started for the shore singing. When they got to the shore they saw footprints of bears who had just gone by. They said, "Our friends have just gone by." That is why they are the friends of the Bear clan. They were going to the meeting place. There a black hawk was gathering together all the different clans. Finally he finished and he said, "It is done." When he said this a wolf howled. They had forgotten him. They said, "We have forgotten him. Let some one go after him." So some one went after him . . .

614 533

CLAN SONGS

First song

This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
This body of mine that I am walking.
On the earth I am speaking.

Second song

This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking
This body of mine that I am walking.
In the waters am I speaking.

CLAN NAMES

CÔGEWÔGE' HIK'IE'ARADJEGA (WOLF CLAN)*

614 551 Cõgewakdjo.....Hunting dog.
Cõgitcoge'a.....Wolf.
Ragoxdjega.....Wolf (archaic name).

* The following names are from the Dorsey file.

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Hirdjaxegs.....White-faced.
Hirdjadjegs.....Four-eyed.
Hirp'ixings.....Good-haired.
Hi'cegs.....Blue-furred.
Hosninank'a.....She who sits howling.
Manidjegs.....Four walking.
Manank'egs.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma'ok'acutcuninank'a.....He who sits on the tree banks.
Nindjahugs.....Coming from the water.
Nindjawanik'irigs.....He who brings them back from the water.
P'otcegs.....Green forehead.
P'o-ugegs.....He who has a white forehead
P'ô'nakegs.....Big eared person.
Xe-cuninank'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xe-onik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xe-oxitcegs.....He who travels to the hill.
Sintcegs.....Bushy tail.
Tcaxawigs.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Tcaxixwigs.....He who carries deer-feet in his mouth.
Tcexaxkehûgs.....Chief wolf.
Tcexaxketcowingx.....First wolf.
Tcexininank'a.....Sits as a leader.
Wanuninigs.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Waxwaixingx.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Waxwaigugs.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Waxuxwingx.....She who chases.
Wixp'egs.....He who lies in wait for them.

The Water-Spirit Clan

614

Introduction

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

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614 [764] Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird clan.

[823 576] Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges.

One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks; and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

CLAN NAMES

WAKTCEXI HIE'IE'ARAINERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 ● 551

Ho-ekeje'jank'a	Shining horns.
Hone'pga	Two horns.
Hep'i'wiga	Handsome horn.
Hontcank'a	Five-horned.
Hodjopga	Four-horned.
Mank'e'ejaga	He who plants medicines.
Mank'e'hodja'pga	He who looks at medicines.
Ma'hinip'i'wiga	Good cold spring.

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Ma°jiwinga.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma°nunp'inga.....Second earth person.
Ni-ergadjewinga.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amanîwinga.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a°p'°winga.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a°dage-winga.....Still water.
Nirunnga.....Stream person.
Nihuga.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ci°a°pwinga.....She who jumps into the water.
Nîdjohega.....Four streams.
Niwak'itwanga.....Roberts (?) water.
Wakdjexicirik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihunga.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximanîga.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'inga.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexise°winga.....White Water-spirit.
Hop'inga.....Good horn.
Wadjxodega.....Big boat.
Hip'ahiga.....Sharp tooth.
Rabewinga.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabewinga.....Beaver.
Hejipga.....Short horn.

The Buffalo Clan

INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cicik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans.

614 173

The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however.

[624 203] [361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members.

[764]

ORIGIN MYTH*

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi-

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* The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

CLAN NAMES

THE HIN'IN'ARAINERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 ●531
Morotcgs.....He who travels the land.
Tcanimanirings.....She who walks ahead.
Tcenigkigs.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Tcegs.....Buffalo.
Tcep'anu'pgs.....Two buffalo heads.
Tcetca'iwings.....First buffalo.
Tcedejenigk'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Tcedenigk'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Tcewigxadegs.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanangs.....He who is in control.
Hohekmanigs?.....Shaggy walker.
Tcehatcowings.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangikcuntcgs.....Shakes the earth by striking.
Tcep'ags.....Buffalo head.
Manok'aruhigs.....Kicking up the earth.

THE DEER CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[526 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *vaxtcigohonigs* and *na"xatcyigs*.

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ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go; and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[a] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[b] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[a] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

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[a] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[b] There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to use the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the Midewiwin fraternity to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk.

[c] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

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The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the secondborn said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fat-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck.

CLAN SONG.

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

WA HIK'IK'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

Teseph̄ûk'a.....Black deer chief.
Wagizena'p'i'ga.....Wears shells around neck
Teanûkera'p'i'wings.....Deer vagina.
Mank'iangiveega.....Appears in the middle of earth
Testconiwings.....First deer woman.

The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth.

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one.

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference.

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46).

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ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A NUMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 Earthmaker created all human beings. When he was about to create them, then he thought it would be good to see something moving. So he made a man and he was very good. But Earthmaker thought he ought to have company, so he made a woman. Then he thought to himself, "How should they know one another." So some one came to life through the water and this one was an animal. He made a village in the west for the human beings, and he thought about it and then he thought he would ask the humans what they would like to live through (i. e., become reincarnated), and they said the elk, because the elk never committed any crime. The humans were not to commit any crime. So the four elks started for the meeting place at Green Bay, Red Banks. They had up to that time supposed that they were the only living things, but Earthmaker let the oldest of the elks know of the existence of the other clans. So there they came and lived as Winnebagos. Thus it is said. This is all that they ever tell.

CLAN NAMES

614 ● 551 HU"WA" HIK'IN'ARANJERA (ELK CLAN)

Rohe'manaiwiga.....Many walking.
Rak'ohumanaiwiga.....She who walks with the wind.
Tcatchiruzewiga.....She who pursues the wind.

SNAKE AND FISH CLANS

614 No information of any consequence was obtained about these two clans. Almost all the informants claimed that they were recent additions to the tribe. Only a very few survivors of either clan are still living.

CLAN NAMES

614 551 WAK'A" HIK'IN'ARANJERA (SNAKE CLAN)

Hanhcinigk'a.....Lying snake.
Hip'ahiga.....He who has sharp teeth.
Hironiga.....She who has attained her full growth.
K'ik'oradiwiga.....She who crawls.
K'ixcuniigk'a.....She coiled up.
Ginewak'inigk'a.....She quiet in her (home).
Hokeiga.....High snake.

HO HIK'IN'ARANJERA (FISH CLAN)

Ho-apcudjewiga.....Red fish scale woman.

CLAN APPELLATIONS NOT OBTAINED

Ho'hugewiga.....Rust woman.
Hunkuniigk'a.....Resting child.

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K'ik'ansintegs.....Licks himself.
Hank'shoredjegs.....Roams under the earth.
Hankeewiggs.....
Kdeneniegs.....Sits solidly attached.
Hank'uredjewiggs.....Her earth she spreads out.
Trigenaniegs.....Walks as a white house.
Hainhinaniwiggs.....Cold walking woman.
Ra'nagegs.....Coming white.
Wank'inek'igs.....Lone man.
Waruts'a'zenenigs.....Small attendant.
Hominenkpiegs.....Sits good as she comes.
Na'nawahigegs.....He who brings something in his mouth.
K'inshiyungiwiggs.....Fighting princess.
Hagiagenenagh'a.....Lies in the middle of the earth.
Waxaretcinanewiggs.....Moves along as she walks.
Wankteegs.....Green man.
Hikina'jegs.....Comes out.
P'igk'ik'uegs.....Fixes himself.

Clan Names

First four given in each clan

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Although it has been discontinued for some time, the Winnebago claim that in former times it was customary to assign definite names to the first four children born in each clan. In all probability this custom extended not only to the fourth but even to the sixth child, as lists were obtained that gave six names. This would correspond to the fixed number of birth names. No significance need be attached to the exact number, as it was intended beyond any doubt to cover the number of children generally born within one family. Within these limits, then, the names were fixed, at least theoretically.

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First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of clan:

First. Namonk'a.....Bending bough of tree.
Second. Nadja'egs.....Lighting the tree.
Na'nawagiciegs.....Broken tree top.
Haan'tcnaxegeegs.....All heard it.

First four names of Thunderbird clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Hoe'iegs.....Good one.
Second. Waredjaxiegs.....Makes noise as he comes?
Third. Wak'andjamanigs.....Thunder walker.
Wak'andjahoegs.....Thunder chief.

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:

First. Wak'andjahoegs.....Thunder chief (male).
Second. Ha'djidjegs.....He who alights on the earth (male).
First. Hak'awaa wiggs.....Darkness (female).
Second. Ha'naagewiggs.....Bends (weighs) the tree down (female).

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Informant, member of Elk clan:

First. Wak'aⁿdja ᵊᵊᵍᵍᵃ.....Black thunderbird.
Second. Wak'aⁿdja-teᵊᵍᵃ.....Green thunderbird.
Third. Wak'aⁿdja ᵊᵊᵍᵍᵃ.....White thunderbird.
Fourth. Wak'aⁿdja cuteᵊᵍᵃ.....Red thunderbird.

Names of Warrior clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Woᵊᵊᵍᵍᵉ waⁿkrik'a.....Warrior man (male)
or Haᵊᵊᵍᵍᵉdᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Big tree (male).
Second. Haⁿi'aⁿk'iᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Lone tree (male).
Third. Haᵊᵊᵍᵉdjᵉᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Walks mightily (male).
Fourth. Woᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....War (male).
Fifth. Iᵊᵊᵍᵉtcᵉa-ᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Fire-starter (male)
Sixth. Hᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Chief walker (male).
First. Ahᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵉwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Shining wings (female).
Second. Ahutcᵉwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Blue wing (female).
Third. K'iⁿhiyuᵊᵊᵍᵉwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Fighting princess (female).
Fourth. Ahuᵊᵊᵍᵉiᵉwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Good wing (female).
Fifth. Hᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵉwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Rain walker (female).

First four names of Eagle clan; informant, member of Warrior clan:

First. Haⁿk'iriᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Returns to the tree.
Second. Ahuⁿk'a.....Strikes his wings.
Third. Traᵊᵊᵍᵉphuⁿk'a.....Eagle chief.
Fourth. Traᵊᵊᵍᵉpa'uⁿik'a.....Small eagle.

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Tᵊᵊᵍᵉⁿkhuⁿk'a.....Bear chief (male).
Second. ?.....? (male).
Third. Wak'iᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊ'iᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....He who has white spot under his throat (male).
Fourth. Hundjᵊᵊᵍᵉdᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Big bear (male).
Fifth. Hiᵊᵊᵍᵉriᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....(Male).
Sixth. Hoᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Scrapes a tree (male).
First. Hok'iwaᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Retraces her footsteps (female).
Second. Tᵊᵊᵍᵉⁿkhᵊᵊᵍᵉwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Blue bear (female).
Third. Haᵊᵊᵍᵉgᵉdjᵉwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Plays on wood (female).
Fourth. Aᵊᵊᵍᵉwᵉwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Delicious bear (female).
Fifth. Hundjᵊᵊᵍᵉkiⁿuⁿk'a.....Female bear (female).
Sixth. Hiᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵉwiᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Visible footprints (female).

Bear clan; informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:

Maiᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Shakes the earth.
Wahᵊᵊᵍᵉkuⁿᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Makes (it) quake.
Haᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵉmaᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Gives forth fruit as he walks.
Haᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Makes the day tremble.

Bear clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Maⁿkᵊᵊᵍᵉhuᵊᵊᵍᵉmaⁿk'a.....He who sits in the middle of the earth.
Second. Hahoᵊᵊᵍᵉᵊᵊᵍᵉmaᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....He who carries the ensign.
Third. Haᵊᵊᵍᵉdjᵉᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Makes the day tremble.
Fourth. Naⁿᵊᵊᵍᵉwaᵊᵊᵍᵃ.....Breaks the tree tops.

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Wolf clan; informant, member of Bear clan:

First. Hi'tcega.....Blue hair.
Second. Kwatcega.....Blue sky.
Third. Cuñktcuñk' xotcga.....Gray wolf.
Fourth. Cuñktcuñk' wega.....White wolf.

Wolf clan; informant, member of Thunderbird clan:

First. Cuñktcuñk' xotcga.....Gray wolf.
Second. Cuñktcuñk' wega.....Black wolf.
Third. Cuñktcuñk' wega.....White wolf.
Fourth. Cuñktcuñk' cutcga?.....Red wolf(?)

Wolf clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Cuñktcuñk' wega.....White wolf.
Second. Cuñktcuñk' xotcga.....Gray wolf.
Third. Hi'tcega.....Green hair.
Fourth. Cuñktcuñk' wega.....Black wolf.

Water-spirit clan; informant, member of Eagle clan:

First. Wakdjaxi wega.....White water-spirit.
Second. Wakdjaxi pinga.....Good water-spirit.
Third. Wakdjaxi tcega.....Green water-spirit.
Fourth. Wakdjaxi wega.....Black water-spirit.

Elk clan; informant, member of the clan:

First. Ho'wega.....The elk.
Second. Hoxatcga.....Prong-horned.
Third. Ho'wegega.....Black elk.
Fourth. Hi'wega.....White hair.

Deer clan; informant, member of Elk clan.

First. Tcega.....The deer.
Second. Tca'hak'iga.....Long deer.
Third. Tcewega.....White deer.
Fourth. Tcewega.....Black deer.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

Individual Names.

With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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I. According to colour. II. According to physiological characteristics. III. According to social functions. IV. Descriptive of animal and plant forms. V. Descriptive of animal characteristics. VI. Descriptive of natural phenomena. VII. According to quality. VIII. According to episodes of a legendary origin. IX. Descriptive of personal achievement.

According to practically all informants only one of these classifications is present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunderbird lit on a tree, the name He-who-lights-on-a-tree exists; because a wave swept over the shore in the wolf myth, we have the name Wave; etc. However, the most representative names of this type are such as Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks, Makes-the-day-tremble, He-who-comes-singing, Judge-of-the-contest, etc. The vast majority of names, although many can be interpreted as possible episodes of the clan ancestors, belong under the first seven categories described above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII. Can we accept this present interpretation as historically primary? We think not. A large number of the clan names are purely descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, for instance "Soldier" in the Bear clan, "Chief" in the Thunderbird, and others refer to personal achievements, etc.; secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretations are present. For example, the interpretations obtained by J. O. Dorsey are largely symbolical, and make no mention of the one we found so prevalent. A purely symbolical interpretation was, it is true, obtained in some cases, notably from what one might call the "exoteric" members of the tribe, that is, from those who were insufficiently acquainted with the clan myths and customs. Another type of name characteristically developed among the Omaha and Central Algonkins, is the so-called "dream-name," a name supposed to represent some incident connected with the dream of the individual bestowing it. In all these cases we are speaking of the specific names.

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If we include the nicknames, and then the birth names, we have five distinct systems of individual names. Remembering that every individual had three names, a birth name, clan name, and nickname, of co-ordinate importance, we must not exaggerate the importance of the clan name, especially in its social significance. An individual is known by his birth name or nickname, generally, however, by the former, which sufficed absolutely as a mark of identification under normal conditions. The clan name was rarely known by a member of another clan or even to all members of the clan. A marked religious symbolical flavour clung about it, and this was enhanced and elaborated by the shaman and principal members of the clan. The way was thus open for the development of specific interpretations such as the dream, symbolical, and notably the ancestor-episode type. The ancestor-episode type seems to have been the last. The uniformity it brought about in the interpretation of individual names was all the more easily accomplished in view of the fact that this esoteric interpretation was not disturbed by the influence of any popular system, since, as has been pointed out, the nature of the clan name prevented it from having any distinctively social-political value. Many such reinterpretations must have taken place in the history of the tribe, and we may thus obtain some idea of the insurmountable difficulties in the way of a proper understanding of names. Psychologically two processes are always active in these changes in name connotation: first, the reinterpretation of the old names according to some definite system of classification; and, secondly, the formation of new names on this basis. Interpreting a name, probably merely descriptive of the bear's manner of walking, like Retraces-her-footsteps, into an incident connected with the origin of the clan, and, on the other hand, giving a name like Scatters-flowers-as-he-walks, are two examples of the two processes, which must have occurred at every change. In the case here cited, reinterpretation in no way does injury to the name itself. It frequently happens, however, that the significance of a word is lost and that, in the process of reinterpretation, names are interpreted in a characteristic folk-etymological manner. *Tcoyanke*, given above, is a case in point. In addition to the possible

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *troni*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcangera* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations.

Attitude Toward Clan Animals.

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
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554 562 582 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 624 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 551 614 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of character; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 174 614 [114] [648] [551] A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.

[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935

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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was inhabited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with Atwater's data.

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'û'ñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'û'ñgɪra as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'û'ñgē is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[13] They are in his Fox list.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medicine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives, at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

178 191 171 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to assume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cultural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 535 In considering our four types of social change, we might almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 182 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 551 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winnebago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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individually bestowed upon members of the conservative group.

The list of old Indian traits still found among the Wisconsin Winnebago could be extended at great length to include items of diet, clothing, religion, amusements, healing, social organization, and many other aspects of the culture, but of course cannot all be discussed in this article. There is, nevertheless, one final and important feature, and that is that the Indian definitely considers himself a member of a distinct race, and that differences in white and Indian outlook are inherent in the blood rather than due to societal processes.

Conclusion

From observation of current trends and from the reminiscences of informants, it seems safe to conclude that the pattern of change outlined above will be followed in coming years with an ever-increasing tendency of the Winnebago to take on more and more of the aspects of white culture. Naturally changes vary from community to community, but the overall picture of the forms of cultural change seems to hold true.

There is one important point which may affect the Winnebago in unforseen ways, and that is the present war. As far as influencing cultural change today, it is more of a nuisance than an acting force. True the Indians are notably patriotic in the purchase of war bonds, and Indian boys are in all of the fighting forces; but for the most part, except where tragedy strikes individual families, the Indian thinks of the war as apart from his affairs. Some older people still feel strongly about the irony of Indians fighting for a country they themselves already have lost.

There is, of course, the inconvenience of tire and gasoline rationing on a people who lead a semi-nomadic life, but in our group, as far as the writer could ascertain, this did not constitute a great problem.

Many Indians have begun working in defence factories since the outbreak of the war, but even then they manage to stay in fairly isolated groups, as witness the Badger Ordnance Plant,

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§1. *Early Childhood*

Father and mother had four children and after I was born. An uncle of my mother named White Cloud spoke to her before I was born and told her, "You are about to give birth to a child who will not be an ordinary individual." These were the words he addressed to her. It was then that my mother gave birth to me. As soon as I was born, indeed as I was being washed—as my neck was being washed—I laughed out loudly.

I have been told [1] that I was a good-tempered child.

During childhood my father told me to fast and I obeyed him. Throughout the winter, every morning, I would get up very early, crush charcoal, and then blacken my face with it. As soon as the sun rose would I go outside and there gazing steadily at the sun, make my prayer to the spirits, crying.[2]

[1] Whenever the writer refers to events that happened before his time or before he could remember things, he always uses the quotative, "It is said."

[2] This refers to the custom of fasting of which many examples will be found later on. Among the Winnebago and many culturally related tribes, every person, male and female, was expected, between the ages of five and twelve, to seek communion with some supernatural spirit and the spirit so obtained was supposed to grant the suppliant certain powers and in general preside over his destinies throughout life. The proper manner of approaching this ordeal was to blacken one's face with charcoal and retire at night to some semi-deserted place at some distance from the house and there pray-

7:Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§2. *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

My brother-in-law was named Thunder Cloud. It is said that he was living his third life as a human being.*

This is his account:

I once lived with a small group of Indians numbering about twenty camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although still not large enough to handle a gun, a war-party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

My ghost was taken to the place where the sun sets. There I lived with an old couple. The land of the spirits is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While there I thought I would like to come to the earth again so the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had as

*The belief in reincarnation is very widespread among the Winnebago. It is generally believed that if any child resembles some deceased individual he is that individual reincarnated. Not every person, however, can become reincarnated. This is a privilege that belongs only to the more prominent people and to the members of the most sacred of Winnebago ceremonies, the Medicine Dance.

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories;

● [551] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega

*159 787 539 776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

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fering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never be in want of anything; you will be able to understand the languages of your neighbors; you will have a long life; indeed, with everything do I bless you." But, from the very first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, "Somebody must be fooling me." And so it was; it was a bird. 159* 776 787 539

Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, "O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all." Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. "Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me."

Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him; only with life.

After telling me about Weshgishega, father left me. When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen soon, yet nothing occurred so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done on the night before. He told me about my grandfather Jobenangiwinxga: 159* 787 [551]●

My Ancestor Jobenangiwinxga

Once Jobenangiwinxga fasted. So that he might be blessed by the spirits he starved and thirsted himself to 159* 539 787 [785]

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539 614 776 give to his relatives. Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome.

*159 614 553 Now in our clan whenever a child was to be named it was my father who did it. That right he now transmitted to my brother.

*159 551 Earthmaker, in the beginning, sent four men from above and when they came to this earth everything that happened to them was utilized in making proper names. This is what our father told us. As they had come from above so from that fact has originated a name *Comes-from-above;* and since they came like spirits we have a name *Spirit-man.* When they came, there was a drizzling rain and hence the names *Walking-in-mist, Comes-in-mist, Drizzling-rain.* It is said that when they came to *Within-lake* they alighted upon a small shrub and hence the name *Bends-the-shrub;* and since they alighted on an oak tree, the name *Oak-tree.* Since our ancestors came with the thunderbirds we have a name *Thunderbird* and since these are the animals who cause thunder, we have the name *He-who-thunders.* Similarly we have *Walks-with-a-mighty-tread, Shakes-the-earth-down-with-his-force, Comes-with-wind-and-hail, Flashes-in-every-direction, Only-a-flash-of-lightning, Streak-of-lightning, Walks-in-the-clouds, He-who-has-long-wings, Strikes-the-tree.*

Now the thunderbirds come with terrible thundercrashes. Everything on the earth, animals, plants, everything, is deluged with rain. Terrible thundercrashes resound everywhere. From all this a name is derived and that is my name—*Crashing Thunder.*

[P.40]

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*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
721 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701] bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[781] of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[776] Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might walk in the protection and power of rain. This offering we made in the morning and it rained all that day. Then we went to the place where we knew that we could find horses. When we got there we met the owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompanied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed him. I struck his dead body, counted coup[55] first,
[555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his man.' Then the others counted coup also. We searched his pockets and found medicine and money
[729] in them. The money we divided among ourselves.
[826] After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

[555] [55] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "counting coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the expression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the number of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose benefit they are recounting their achievements.

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*159 Medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All
905 that is connected with you, that I would like to know and
786 that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and for three nights I had been eating the peyote and not slept at all. Now I realized that throughout all the years that I had lived, I had never once known a truly holy thing. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebago might also know it!

*159 Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this
905 sickness were going to kill me. I tried all the Winnebago
755 doctors and then I tried all of the white-man's medicines, all were of no avail. I thought to myself, "You are doomed. I wonder whether you will be alive next year?" Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife suffered from the same disease and I told her that if she ate the peyote it would cure her. She was afraid although she had never seen it before. She knew that I had used it and yet was afraid. Her sickness, however, got worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult but try the peyote anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then wash herself and comb her hair and that she would get well. She got entirely well. I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing to her very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right," she said, "for now I am well." From that day to the present she has been well. Now she is very happy.

● [551] A man named *Black-waterspirit* was having a hemorrhage at about that time and I wanted him to eat the peyote.

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The Effects of the Peyote

"Well," said he, "I am not going to live anyhow." "Eat the peyote nevertheless," I said, "and you will get cured." Before that consumptives never were cured and now for the first time one was cured. *Black-waterspirit* is living to-day and is very well.

Then there was a man named *Walking-priest*. He was very fond of whisky, chewed, smoked, and gambled. He was also terribly addicted to women. Indeed he did everything bad. I gave him some of the peyote and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had a very dangerous disease. He even had murder in his heart. To-day he is living a good life. Such is his desire.

Whoever has any evil thoughts, let him eat the peyote and he will lose all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Winnebago say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebago told me this: "Really the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and always will I use it." *John Harrison* and *Squeaking-wings* were prominent members of the Medicine Dance; they thought much of themselves, as did all the members of the Medicine Dance. They knew all the secrets of the ritual. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they were gamblers. Their parents had acquired great wealth by giving medicines to the Winnebago. These two men were very rich and believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate the peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of the peyote. They were very ill at one time and now they have been cured of their illness. Now if there are any men who can be taken as examples of the workings of the peyote, it is these three I have mentioned. Even if a man were blind and had only heard of these three men he